The Islamic Republic of Iran at 40 1 November 2019 9:45am - 5:00pm



The Islamic Republic of Iran at 40

In 1979 Iran witnessed one of the most broad-based political uprisings in the world's contemporary history. This workshop brings together leading scholars from Australia and abroad to discuss the 40th anniversary of the Islamic Republic, and to assess the revolution's myriad legacies and the many challenges that the country faces today.



9:45am | Registration and welcome morning tea 10:00am - 10:10am | Workshop opening

Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh, Deakin University
10:10am - 12:10pm | Panel 1

The internal and external politics of the Islamic Republic

Registered Women's NGOs and Policy-Influence in Iran | Dr Rebecca Barlow, Deakin University

The Art of appropriating religion in Hezbollah's mobilisation and decision making: an examination of Nasrallah's speeches from 2000 to 2013 | Dr Mariam Farida, University of New South Wales

Asymmetrical escalation: embracing nuclear-power Iran or nucleararmed Iran? | Ms Firouzeh Khoshnoudiparast, Australian National University

Can China save Iran? | Dr Dara Conduit, Deakin University

12:10pm - 1:00pm | Lunch 1:00pm - 3:00pm | Panel 2

40 years of ideological questions and transformations

Secular religiosity and de-governmentalizing Shīʿīsm | Dr Naser Ghobadzadeh, Australian Catholic University

Iraian women's movement, four decades after Iran's revolution: how have Iranian women survived? | Ms Azadeh Davachi, Deakin University

Transformation of Discourses of Presidential Election Campaigns in Post-Revolutionary Iran | Dr Mahmoud Pargoo, Australian Catholic University

What does the future hold for Iran? | Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh, Deakin University

3:00pm - 3:30pm | Afternoon tea





3:30pm - 5:00pm | Panel 3

Cultures and the arts in the Islamic Republic

Why is Iranian literature not global? | Dr Laetitia Nanquette, University of New South Wales

The Co-production of the Past: Architectural Heritage and the Built Environment in the Late Pahlavi Era | Dr Ali Mozaffari, Deakin University

Religious Minorities since 1979: Changes in Identity | Dr James Barry, Deakin University

5:00pm | Seminar close

Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh, Deakin University

6:30pm | Workshop dinner for speakers

AliQapu

840 High St, Kew East

Friday November 1 9:00am - 5:00pm Level 2, Building BC, Deakin University Burwood campus

The Islamic Republic of Iran at 40

Four decades after the 1979 Iranian Revolution, the postrevolutionary polity has yet to materialize an uncontested system for the country's governance. Drawing on a range of topics and examining the Islamic Republic of Iran from a range of angles, these presentations begin to examine and question what is in store for the future of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

These presentations address questions around the political legacies of the revolution exploring the internal and external politics of the state, the ideological trajectory and how these ideas have transformed the social and political context of the Islamic Republic. Such questions are also prominent in the arts and through the shifting dynamics of cultural and artistic expression.

By considering a broad range of topics this symposium highlights the diverse legacies left by the revolution, 40 years later.





Abstracts and bios

What does the future hold for Iran?

Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh, Deakin University

Iranian politics has experienced periodic shifts from paranoia and suppression of dissent to relative openness and tolerance. President Ahmadinejad's term in office was marked by a blunt contraction of the public space and a radical shift away from President Khatami's era which was experimenting with political openness. These shifts resemble a swinging pendulum which corresponds largely with regional and international developments. Khatami's first term in office was marked by relative calm in the region and relations between the United States and Iran – a calm that was shattered by the September 11 attacks and the launch of the War on Terror in Khatami's second term. By contrast, Ahmadinejad came to office when the Iranian leadership felt besieged by the United States. The analogy of the swinging pendulum may be useful in examining President Rouhani's remaining time in office and postulate on his likely successor. The escalation of tensions as a result of President Trump's decision to withdraw from the historic Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action and the prospect of conflict in the Persian Gulf have raised an existential fear amongst the Iranian leadership, pushing the pendulum towards paranoia and intolerance of dissent.

Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh is Deputy Director (International) of the Alfred Deakin Institute (ADI) and Convener of Middle East Studies Forum (MESF) at Deakin University. He held a prestigious Australian Research Council Future Fellowship on the Iran's Foreign Policy-Making. He has also carried out many research projects on the Middle East and Central Asia, currently working on a Carnegie project on Proxy Wars in the Middle East. He has published extensively in his field of expertise in high impact journals, including Middle East Policy, British Journal of Middle East Studies, and Third World Quarterly. His latest books include: Iran in the World: President Rouhani's Foreign Policy (edited with Dara Conduit, 2016), and Middle East Politics and International Relations: Crisis Zone (with Kylie Baxter 2018).

Registered Women's NGOs and Policy-Influence in Iran

Dr Rebecca Barlow, Deakin University

Registered non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the Islamic Republic of Iran occupy a crucial space on the policy landscape. They are neither government insiders, nor anti-regime activists. Despite the important role that women's NGOs play in influencing progressive policy change in Iran, very little is known about them. There is no official source that lists them, and they often operate in rather opaque ways. This article uses seven markers underpinning a theory of change developed by Eyben et al. to explore how registered women's NGOs have worked in influence policy change, in particular under the 'moderate' government of President Hassan Rouhani. Using Jones and Villar's conception of policy as an iterative process, rather than one discrete decision, the authors argue that women's NGOs in Rouhani's Iran appear able to contribute to behavioural, attitudinal, and procedural change, even in the absence of obvious legislative shifts. However, they face significant internal and external problems including a highly restricted operating environment and a lack of well-defined objectives and clear target beneficiaries. The findings in this research have implications for how agents of change in the Islamic Republic of Iran, and other restricted operating environments, can view, evaluate, and reform policy-influencing activities.

Rebecca Barlow has dedicated her academic and professional life to the study and promotion of women's empowerment, specialising in women's leadership. Rebecca is a published author with Melbourne University Publishing, Routledge, and in a range of academic journals for the humanities, including Human Rights Quarterly and Oxford's Journal of Human Rights Practice. Since 2017 Rebecca has led the design, implementation, and evaluation of leadership courses for senior women leaders from Indonesia for the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. In 2007 Rebecca was one of only four early career researchers selected globally to act as Rapporteur at the Nobel Women's Initiative's first international conference Women Redefining Peace in the Middle East and Beyond (Galway, Ireland).

Religious Minorities since 1979: Changes in Identity

Dr James Barry, Deakin University

Since the foundation of the Islamic Republic in 1979, the various minority communities have undergone significant changes in ethnic and religious identity. This is in part due to the attempt by Tehran to manufacture and Islamic Iranian identity and partially due to the shift towards religious politics over secular. In the past two decades, the taboo around ethnic and religious minorities has been slightly lifted, and debates over identity are now allowed to occur in public within certain limitations.

This paper will illustrate this by focusing on the Sunni population of Iran. Iranian Sunnis are geographically dispersed and ethnically diverse; however, since the 1990s, a number of political entrepreneurs have attempted to create a Sunni bloc in the Iranian parliament to lobby for Sunni causes. These MPs have tried to foster unity among Baluch, Kurdish, Lari, Turkmen and other Sunni people in order to create a sense of Sunni-ness which crosses ethnic, geographic, class and religious differences. The Iranian government has approached this movement with caution, at times arresting its activists when they are deemed to cross red lines, while at other times placing heavy restrictions on its members. In this paper, I will examine the phenomenon through three main case studies: the activism of former MP Jalal Jalalizadeh, and the unofficial spiritual leadership of Maulavi Abdolhamid Esmailzahi, and the discourse around the growth of Salafism in some Sunni districts.

James Barry, is a Research Fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute of Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University. Barry is an anthropologist specialising in ethnic and religious identity in Iran. His book, Armenian Christians in Iran: Ethnicity, Religion and Identity in the Islamic Republic was recently published by Cambridge University Press. He is currently working with the Chair of Islamic Studies at the Alfred Deakin Institute, and has published research in Ethnic and Racial Studies, Third World Quarterly, Iranian Studies and the British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies.



Can China save Iran?

Dr Dara Conduit, Deakin University

China and Iran have enjoyed a strong and stable relationship throughout the Islamic Republic's 40 years. China's trade and diplomatic support during the early 2000s sanctions era became crucial to Iran's economic survival, while Iran has long represented a useful tool for China at times in which it has wished to frustrate the United States. But the promise of China-Iran relations have long existed in the shadow of the China-U.S. relationship, and as a result look very different during the presidency of Donald Trump. While the new administration has predictably reconstructed Iran as its international bogeyman, the China-US relationship has also deteriorated to the brink of 'trade war.' China's newly precarious positioning vis-a-vis the U.S. will not be without consequence for the Islamic Republic. Given that the China-Iran partnership has always taken a backseat to developments in the more important China-U.S. relationship, China will likely be forced to prioritise detente with the U.S., at the expense of sheltering Iran from the international turmoil within which it has once again found itself.

Dara Conduit is an Associate Research Fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, where she works on authoritarianism and oppositions, mostly in the Middle East. Her work has been published in journals including Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, the Middle East Journal and Journal of Contemporary China, and her book The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria was published by Cambridge University Press in 2019.



Ms Azadeh Davachi, Deakin University

Since the 1979 Revolution, the status and rights of women- and the trajectory of Iranian women's activism and feminist movements- have been paradoxical and complicated. Many factors have shaped this contradiction including state policy, state ideology and Iranian patriarchal culture. Although women have progressed in Iranian society, they are still faced with discrimination and marginalization. But women's rights activists have learned to survive the state's oppression, while ordinary women resist state's oppression in their daily lives. These patterns of resistance and resilience have increased in the social media age.

In this presentation, I will examine how the Iranian women's movement has shifted and changed its strategies since the 1979 Revolution. Demonstrating that in recent years the movement has not followed classical forms of activism, I show that the movement has harnessed a diverse range of tools to survive the Iranian political and social context. The paper also shows that each woman, especially from emerging generation of activists, has become an agent of change. Therefore, by communicating on social media they have contributed to women's movement and have survived state's oppression.

Azadeh Davachi is a researcher, writer and women's rights activist, living in Australia. I have been an activist since 2005, and have since been involved in several women's rights campaigns both inside and outside of Iran. I have coordinated projects on Iranian women, and work as a board member of the Feminist school, one of the leading Iranian women's rights centre in Iran. I have published several articles, commentaries and reports about the situation of women in Iran in online and printed journals in Persian and English. I am working as a freelance writer and commentator with BBC Persian, Radio Zamaneh, Iran International and several other Persian media outlets. I have published two books on Iranian women's movement and two collections of poetry (in Persian). Currently I am finishing my study at Deakin University.



The Art of appropriating religion in Hezbollah's mobilisation and decision making: an examination of Nasrallah's speeches from 2000 to 2013.

Dr Mariam Farida, University of New South Wales

The speeches of Hezbollah Secretary-General, Sayyed Nasrallah, have been integral to the Party's ability to secure and maintain its role as a resistance movement, its legitimacy as a political party in Lebanon, and its influence as a non-State actor in the region. Indeed, several scholars have asserted that the popular support of Lebanese Shi'ites enjoyed by Hezbollah is due in no small part to the Party's construction of the religious-historical narrative of Shi'ism as a social, cultural and political force of resistance in Lebanon. This paper will first establish the personal attributes of Nasrallah and the role they play in his effectiveness as a consummate orator. I will then shift the focus to an analysis of the content and context of Nasrallah's speeches from 2000-2013. After identifying the key themes of his speeches, I will provide an in-depth examination of the way in which Nasrallah uses rhetorical devices and context to imbue religious elements into Hezbollah's everyday politics to mobilise supporters. The rationale emerged from the belief that, as a non-state actor, Hezbollah's use of religion represents an interesting case regarding the relationship between religion and security studies contextualised around Lebanese domestic politics primarily. This study found that Hezbollah's use of religious rhetoric and application of religious tools in its decision making supported its capacity to act as a rational nonstate group.

Mariam Farida is a sessional teacher at Macquarie University in Security Studies in the School of Security Studies and Criminology and University of New South Wales in the School of Social Sciences. She has conducted extensive research on insurgent groups such as Hizbullah in Lebanon, and studied the development of groups from violence to political transformation. She has research interests in Middle East Politics, non-state groups, International Relations, Global Security, Terrorism, Counter terrorism operations, and National Security. Mariam has been awarded her PhD from Macquarie University in 2018. She has published on Hezbollah and Political transformation of non-state actors in journals such as *International* Review for Social Research, Journal for Policing, Intelligence, and Counter Terrorism, and the Handbook of Terrorist and Insurgent Groups: A Global Survey of Threats, Tactics, and Characteristics. She is also the author of Religion and Hezbollah: Political Ideology and Legitimacy (Routledge, 2020).

Secular religiosity and de-governmentalizing Shī'īsm

Dr Naser Ghobadzadeh, Australian Catholic University

Ayatollah Khomeini's politico-religious thought and practices not only caused a marked disturbance in Iran's political process, it also constituted a clear breach of traditional shī'ī orthodoxy. Ayatollah Khomeini is widely depicted as the pioneering figure who politicised shī'īsm. Correspondingly, the terms "apolitical" and "quietist" are often used to characterise the political nature of traditional shī'ī orthodoxy. Calling into question the precision of these notions, this paper argues that the shī'ī ulama have always been political and have an extensive history of political engagement both openly and in more subtle or covert ways.

The paper suggests that Ayatollah Khomeini branched away from traditional shī'ism not because he politicized shī'īsm, but because he conceptualised and implemented "governmental shī'īsm". Recognising the inadequacy of notions like "apolitical" and "quietist" in this context, I utilise Bhargava's concept of "principled distance" to articulate a more nuanced understanding of the political disposition of traditional shī'ī orthodoxy. I draw upon a key theological component of shī'ism, i.e. the divine and exclusive right of "the Hidden Imam" to politico-religious rulership, to stress that the ulama are strictly forbidden from seizing state power in the context of traditional shī'ī orthodoxy. This is why for centuries, shī'ī ulama never attempted to assume direct control of the state apparatus, despite having always exercised a bold presence in the socio-political sphere. Grounded in the reality of traditional shī'ī orthodoxy, this paper will propose utilising "principled distance" as a normative and prescriptive framework for an indigenous political secularism, which is based upon the devotional commitment of the religious authorities to eschew governmental positions.

Naser Ghobadzadeh is a senior lecturer at the National School of Arts, ACU. Researching at the intersection of religion and politics, Naser's interests lie in the study of Islamic political theology, secularism, and Middle East politics. Naser holds a Ph.D. (University of Sydney, 2012) and an M.A. in Political Science (Shahid Beheshti University, Iran 2001). Naser has authored three books including *Religious secularity: a theological challenge to the Islamic state* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), *Caspian Sea: legal regime, neighbouring countries and US policies* (Tehran: Farhang-e Gofteman, 2005- in Farsi) and *A study of people's divergence from ruling system* (Tehran: Farhang-e Gofteman, 2002-in Farsi). He is also co-editor of a recently published collection of essays, *The Politics of Islamism: Diverging Visions and Trajectories* (New York: Palgrave 2018).



Asymmetrical escalation: embracing nuclear-power Iran or nuclear-armed Iran?

Dr Firouzeh Khoshnoudiparast, Australian National University

On Iran's nuclear dossier, the current asymmetrical escalation that is inflicted by the U.S. may extend deterrence situations in which the challenger is not threatening the physical security of the defender, but its vital interests or allies. Currently, Iranians possess the nuclear know-how and material to develop nuclear weapons, while time favours their uranium enrichment program advances at full speed. The current deadlock (as of July 2019) between the U.S. and Iran along with Trump administration's maximum pressure will push Iran to build further deterrence situations. Given the existing bully image of the U.S. and the consensus among Iranian elites including parts of the public on mastering civilian nuclear technology within the country, any likelihood of Iran's conceding to the U.S. wills seems extremely doubtful. If the current deadlock continues, Iran will eventually become a nuclear-armed nation. And, a nuclear armed-Iran can exert greater influence in the region which will be harder to deter. The regional actors, including the U.S. might need to reassess their calculations regarding Iran's nuclear program as the high cost of military conflict would be unbearable for them as well as other international players. Two options suggest themselves when analysing this asymmetric escalation. Firstly, the United States is better to accept a nuclear-power Iran and focus on preventing nuclear-armed Iran. Secondly, for succeeding in the first option, the U.S. would require to reverse its 40 years of foreign policy toward Iran by accepting the country as a regional power and treat Iranians as an equal player in the international game. Both options have their risks and difficulties, however their alternatives, namely a nuclear-armed Iran or military conflict are worse for the peace and security of the world and Middle East region.

Firouzeh Khoshnoudiparast's doctoral research focuses on 'Iranian nuclear diplomacy and non-proliferation negotiations' at the Australian National University (ANU). Firouzeh was a 2016-2017 Endeavour Postgraduate Scholar and a 2016 Visiting Research Fellow with the program on Global Governance at the Centre for Strategic & Diplomatic Studies, University of South Florida. In 2017, Firouzeh was also a visiting scholar at the School of Oriental & African Studies (SOAS), University of London. She completed Master of Advanced National Security Policy at the ANU College of National Security and Master of Diplomacy at the ANU College of Diplomacy. She is particularly interested in working on the agency of nuclear decision-making inside the states and its impact on the future of international security.

The Co-production of the Past: Architectural Heritage and the Built Environment in the Late Pahlavi Era

Dr Ali Mozaffari, Deakin Universitu

The 1970s is one of Iran's most creative periods in cultural production. Propelled by a robust economic growth and a rising assertiveness in both domestic and international arenas, Iran was becoming a focal point for various forms of cultural production in, and arguably beyond, its immediate region in Asia. This era was also marked by a focus on defining Iranian identity with reference to the past and the attempt to forge or imagine a road-map to a future that remained true to that identity while benefiting from the potentials offered by development. The important characteristic of this effort, one that included individuals and groups from both within and outside the Pahlavi establishment (1925-1979), has been its transnational and global sources and ongoing connections. Veiled in a jargon of authenticity and coded in religious and traditional references, this ostensibly traditional-Islamic revival was rooted in global, specifically, Western ideas. This fact, however, does not diminish the essential problem those efforts sought to address: that of reconciling development with culture. Such a reconciliation process involves a re-reading and hence reproduction of (Iranian) history and its cultural traditions. In this presentation, I will specifically address manifestations of this process within the field of architecture. I will focus is on a series of Congresses of Architecture that took place with official Iranian support between 1970 and 1976. The congresses not only focused on pressing issues in the Iranian context, such as the complex relation of tradition and modernization, and the crisis of cultural identity in the face of the globalization of knowledge and media, but also, more generally, upon alternatives to existing normative models of modernist architecture, housing and urbanism. They were forums or global exchanges between Iranians and their international counterparts and left a profound mark in both Iranian architecture and practice and in some international debates. Specifically, the ideas emerging from these Congresses influenced formulations and approaches to Iranian pasts, resulting in the making, and perhaps globalizing, of an architectural heritage.

Ali Mozaffari is a Fellow of the Australian Research Council (ARC) with the Alfred Deakin Institute, Deakin University, Melbourne and Adjunct Senior Lecturer at the University of Western Australia. He is the author of Development, architecture and the formation of heritage in late-twentieth century Iran: A vital past (forthcoming, Manchester University Press, 2020), Forming National Identity in Iran: The Idea of Homeland Derived from Ancient Persian and Islamic Imaginations of Place (I.B. Tauris, 2014) and editor of World Heritage in Iran: Perspectives on Pasargadae (Routledge, 2016). Mozaffari's current trans-disciplinary research is on uses of the past in forming national and regional identities and relations in West Asia.

Why is Iranian literature not global?

Dr Laetitia Nanquette, University of New South Wales

For more than twenty years, Iranian cinema has been global, with specially produced art house films for festivals and an important scholarship devoted to it. In the past ten years, Iranian visual arts have also been well represented on the international art scene. However, Iranian literature is largely invisible in World literature debates and anthologies. It receives neither critical respect nor commercial success abroad. In this paper, I compare the circulation of Iranian literature to that of Iranian cinema and visual arts and explain why Iranian literature is not worldly by three reasons: political, structural and generic.

I first show that the success of Iranian films is linked to cultural film policies which started just after the Islamic Revolution and recently made their appearance in visual arts, with much success. Such policies do not exist in the literary field. There also exist structural constraints: because Iran does not abide to copyright laws, it is difficult for Iranian publishers to be trusted globally. Finally, I turn to generic considerations. Iranian writers write primarily "local" stories. Can this lack of attention to global readers explain the invisibility of Iranian literature globally?

Laetitia Nanquette is a Senior Lecturer and Australian Research Council DECRA Fellow at the University of New South Wales, Sydney. She holds a BA in Philosophy from the Sorbonne, Paris, and a PhD in Middle Eastern Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. Her current DECRA project is entitled: "A Global Comparative Study of Contemporary Iranian Literature". She frequently travels to Iran for research fieldwork and translates contemporary Persian literary texts.

Transformation of Discourses of Presidential Election Campaigns in Post-Revolutionary Iran

Dr Mahmoud Pargoo, Australian Catholic University

Social imaginary of Iranians is secularized staggeringly compared to the first decade of the revolution. This transformation is vividly traceable in the steady evolution of discourses of the presidential campaigns in the last forty years. The whole ontological and epistemic framework within which political forces (conservatives and reformists alike) are acting has evolved to a secular one. Secularization in this context is defined as a departure from three central elements of Khomeini's (and the greater social) imaginary of Islam: a reading of Islam which is oriented toward hereafter thus is world-rejectionist. Partly due to the first but also independently important, it is jihadi, and interventionist. In addition, it is egalitarian because of the Marxist vibe of the milieu and because Khomeini's mystical Islam was more consonant with equality. The discourses of presidential election campaigns are transformed compared to the era of Khomeini both in content and form. In terms of content, it has diverged extensively from the triad ethos of revolutionary religiosity mentioned above. Apart from this, election per se (and the greater concept of political disagreement and competition) was an anomaly in the revolutionary Islam of the first decade and, it is not so anymore. It means, the post-Khomeini social imaginary as well as the statesanctioned reading of Islam are evolved in ways that made them plausibly receptive to the very institution of election. This paper provides an account of the transformation of presidential election discourses in the last four decades. The research is based on thorough examination of hundreds of original sources in Farsi including newspapers, magazines, TV programmes and international news outlet archives.

Mahmoud Pargoo focuses on the intersection of Shia figh, secularization theories, and politics of post-revolutionary Iran and is currently working on a book manuscript tentatively titled "paradoxes of secularisation and Islamization". He is a Ph.D. graduate in Social and Political Thought from Australian Catholic University and has taught "Islam and Democracy in the Muslim World" at the University of Sydney. His most recent academic paper is published in "Islam and Muslim and Christian Relations" (2018) titled "Expansion and Contraction of Scripture: The Ritual (Im)purity of Unbelievers According to Shīʿa jurisprudence".





